THE New Republic

WILL THE PRESIDENT RECONSIDER?

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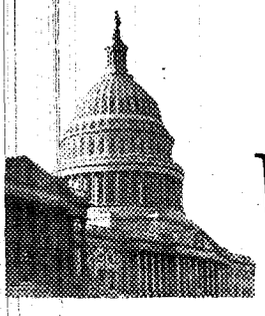

Washington Wire

Persuading the President

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER is 65. At the end of a second term he would be the oldest President in history. He has had a coronary thrombosis. He has now had major abdominal surgery. The White House job is desperately exacting, but he is already noted for long vacations and delegation of powers. His Vice President is Nixon, perhaps the most divisive top ranking politician in the country.

Sympathy for the President does not hide these cheerless facts. Yet we assume he will run again. He is the only man who can give the GOP victory. Even before he was out of the operating ether the build-up had begun again. The very doctors joined it in their bedside communique. While the poor chap still tossed in discomfort his advisers began twisting his arm. This was Act II of the great Eisenhower Health Drama. The operation has increased his life expectancy, some of his stalwart backers cheerfully claim.

Eisenhower did not plan to run at first after his Denver heart attack. He is a conscientious man and puts his country's interest first. He felt it was unthinkable to run. But every self-interested adviser in his court circle told him, or implied, that his duty lay in running. Mrs. Eisenhower alone opposed.

But then came five inactive weeks of convalescence at Gettysburg. Golf was forbidden, weather was bad and boredom set in. He is not a man of great intellectual resources; his favorite Westerns, and painting, are good for only so many hours a day. Morale slumped, and it was torture. Mrs. Eisenhower reluctantly concluded that her husband was not ready for retirement. When Ike got back to the White House it seemed wonderful to him.

Once back in Washington the great sycophantic one-party press hailed the sacrifice the famous soldier was making. Inside, on the evening of January 13, 1956, Eisenhower turned from one to the other of 12 advisers whom he had brought together at a secret meeting. Should he run again, he asked? Look at these advisers and guess what the answer would be—GOP Chairman Leonard Hall, Attorney General Herbert Brownell, Secretary John Foster Dulles, Secretary George Humphrey, Sherman Adams, Henry Cabot Lodge and others, every one a political dependent of the President with one exception, his brother, Milton.

Milton Eisenhower offered some objections. But not the others—it was like asking an objective opinion on a case from a litigant. Gravely and devoutly, they assured their leader that they were aware of his distaste for the heavy task —but that he was a soldier. Where would free enterprise be at home, or peace abroad, without him? He had, Dulles said quietly, a God-given capacity for bringing men and nations together. President Eisenhower sighed heavily.

We doubt if he gave one conscious thought to the boredom of Gettysburg. We have no doubt he earnestly prayed for guidance. He is an attractive and persuadable man. He yielded, under protest.

Will the new Eisenhower illness affect the election? Well, somewhat, we guess, though probably not enough to change the result. It does enhance the Health issue. Now we must probably go through the drama of the President debating with himself once more as to what course to follow. He will very likely delegate more powers. So what, say his supporters, we have peace and prosperity, don't we?

Must he campaign?

IN THE great "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too" election of 1840, the victorious candidate made no speeches at all. We have been musing over the affair. The Whig convention did not even bother to adopt a platform. Why should they? After all, they had a hero-candidate to beat the Democrats.

To paraphrase our history book—

> Harrison's nomination was a milepost in the evolution of the Presidency. . . . Since 1840 successful candidates have not been prominent and experienced statesmen but military heroes or relatively obscure men who have not had time to make enemies. The campaign was the jolliest America has ever known. The Whigs had plenty of money. . . . It became the log-cabin, hard-cider campaign. Huge balls, supposed to represent the gathering majority, were rolled from village to village and state to state by men and boys singing as they rolled. (An idea here for the GOP and its $2 million TV program.)

Well, the Whigs won four-to-one, and General Harrison, described as "an honest, simple soldier of 68 years" was inaugurated. Unfortunately he didn't last long, and John Tyler took his place one month later.

Sale of firearms

HERE IS a point that we have meant to make for a long time but that always gets crowded out by something else. That is the continuing scandal of the open sale of firearms all over the United States. We believe no other nation makes death-dealing guns so freely and cheaply available. We were struck by it on our recent trip to Florida. All through the South, guns and revolvers are available almost without restraint. J. Edgar Hoover reported to a Cabinet meeting last March that the increase in the sale of firearms was 400 percent in one Southern community and everywhere had increased. Why should the United States not disarm the thief and thug and murderer? America has shocking murder statistics, most of the murders committed with revolvers. In England restrictions are so tight now that even the police do not carry firearms. One reason why the anti-revolver drive makes little progress in the USA is the energetic lobby maintained by the gun manufacturers. Under the mask of "wild life" and "sportsmen's" clubs they violently protest any proposal to require licenses. And yet sooner or later America is going to be disarmed. It is a grim sensation now in the South to feel the rising tension of race relations and stand in the town square in front of a shop window filled with lethal, gleaming weapons, every one capable of killing a human being.

T.R.B.

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The New Republic

A JOURNAL OF OPINION

JUNE 18, 1956

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Correspondence

► *Attention: Herblock*

SIRS:

Herblock is certainly right (*NR*, June 4) in saying that we Democrats aren't as good as we ought to be. Right now, we look bad on civil rights—although maybe it should not be forgotten that the Democrats have been a national party all these years and still were able to create a wartime FEPC, to start integrating the armed forces, and to produce President Truman's 1947 report, "To Preserve These Rights." We haven't done much on civil liberties either—although Democratic Congressman Clyde Doyle's new House rules provide some safeguards against use of the executive committee session to destroy people's reputations. And the best you can say for the Democratic performance on the natural gas bill was that its Democratic proponents were outvoted 2-1 by

(*Continued on page 23*)

The President

NINE MONTHS ago, while the President lay in a Denver hospital, it was assumed by many responsible persons, and they included Republicans, that Mr. Eisenhower would not permit himself to run for a second term. But the recovery of public confidence in his capacity to carry on kept pace, indeed outdistanced, the President's own physical recovery. The President yielded, and if the polls are reliable evidence, most Americans were relieved at his decision.

In this second health crisis, the President's advisers reacted with greater speed and unanimity to reassure the public. Mr. Eisenhower, they promptly informed us, will be able to resume his "full-time duties" within four to six weeks. That promise is convincing only if one construes "full-time duties" so narrowly as to misconstrue the nature of the Presidential office. More probably, the President will not and should not perform more than the most perfunctory duties between now and the nominating conventions in August. For not only is he a 65-year old "recovered heart patient", he has undergone serious surgery for Ileitis, commented on in *Textbook of Medicine,* edited by Russell L. Cecil, M. D., and Robert F. Loeb, M. D.:

> *Ileitis*: The clinical course is one of a progressive nature or of relapses and remissions, with signs of chronic debilitating infection and increasing disturbance of intestinal functions. . . . The idea that physical trauma or emotionally charged life situations may precipitate the disease rests largely upon clinical and circumstantial evidence.
>
> *Treatment:* Relief of fatigue and lessening of emotional tension (for instance, by leaves of absence from college or business or by solution of a marital problem) are important. . . . Surgical relief is best delayed until the full extent of the disease of the bowel has become apparent. . . . In 15 percent or more the disease may reappear, usually within 6 years.

Mr. Eisenhower had planned to take a personal hand in a dozen matters to be considered by Congress before adjournment and in a succession of diplomatic moves in Europe and Asia. But once again the President must go on inactive duty, and others must do his work. On the eve of Nehru's visit to Washington, who is to determine official policy toward countries which do not choose to be allied with either the US or USSR? What hope is there for Congressional approval of an adequate foreign-aid bill if the President is unable to use personal persuasion on Republicans who will otherwise oppose it?

Who will arbitrate between Secretary Dulles, the men in the Pentagon and Harold Stassen in deciding on the US reply to Bulganin's latest propaganda note on disarmament? Can Sherman Adams, or any substitute, keep the boiling inter-service rivalries under control in the absence of the Commander-in-Chief? With opinion divided within the Administration on what our attitude should be toward more person-to-person contacts with

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the Russians, who will clarify our position before our chance for the initiative recedes?

School construction legislation, which it is generally agreed will be defeated if it contains the Powell Amendment on segregation, is ready for action in Congress. The Republican leadership in the House still has to be persuaded to vote against the Powell Amendment. That is another of the items on the President's agenda which must be deferred.

In the light of all this, we find it hard to understand how any large segment of public opinion can now anticipate with equanimity the prospect of Mr. Eisenhower's leading the nation during the hazardous and demanding four years that are ahead.

Harriman's Quest

WHILE Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver were spending four arduous months in pursuit of the 364½ delegate votes to the Democratic Convention chosen by Presidential primary election, Averell Harriman and his manager, Tammany Hall leader Carmine De Sapio, were quietly concentrating on the other 1,007½ delegate votes which will decide things at Chicago in August. Now Stevenson and his managers can turn their eyes to the same target. Stevenson's political staff is as sharp as Harriman's. The question is how much of an advantage four months of careful homework may have given De Sapio.

1,144 of the 1,372 delegates to the Democratic National Convention are already chosen, most of them by state conventions. 264 are bound to Stevenson, 173 to Kefauver, 102 to Harriman. 373 are officially "uncommitted" to any candidate. 232 others are committed to "favorite sons." 228 delegates are still to be selected at conventions between now and August.

The principal argument the Harriman organization intends to use in persuading these uncommitted groups to back Harriman instead of Stevenson is that Stevenson cannot win against Eisenhower. The only kind of Democrat who can win, the Harriman argument goes, is a 100-percent New Deal-Fair Dealer. Stevenson, they suggest, is really a pale carbon copy of Eisenhower—and no winner.

The news seems not to have reached the East that Stevenson shot that argument dead in California on June 5. The final theme of Estes Kefauver's campaign was that Stevenson was a sure loser because the plain people wouldn't vote for him. But when the votes were counted every major group of Democrats had given Stevenson a substantial margin. The only 17 of California's 58 counties which Kefauver carried were all lightly populated "cow counties." Stevenson ran well ahead in the strongly unionized sections of the state, and in low-income and minority areas. His majority among Negro voters was 4-1 in Los Angeles County and 5-1 in San Francisco, in spite of opposition or reluctant support from important Negro leaders.

Although Kefauver was endorsed by the supposedly-powerful "elder citizen" lobby, the California Institute for Social Welfare, the vote of this group was not damaging to Stevenson. Actually, the influence of the "old age vote" was over-emphasized from the start, for the stereotype of California as a haven for pensioners and retired persons is dated. In 1940 middle-age and upper-age groups were a disproportionate percentage of the state's population. But young people have poured in since then, and by 1950 the state's age distribution closely paralleled that of the nation as a whole.

Harriman's first "active" effort to convince potential delegates that such a showing is not enough will occur at Denver this week where Democrats from 11 Western states have been invited to meet the candidate. This will be the beginning of his "no-holds-barred" fight against Mr. Stevenson to convince Democrats that "middle-of-the road and moderation mean only one thing—inaction." For a while at least Harriman will have the silent assistance of some top Southern politicians who hope he will weaken Stevenson sufficiently to turn the convention to their favorite, Sen. Stuart Symington.

Still the Jungle

TWO HUNDRED and eighty million animals are slaughtered each year to feed Americans, and by primitive methods that cause great suffering. Cattle, like horses, are slugged with iron mallets. The first blow frequently fails to stun them, and, as they stumble, electric shocks force them to their knees so that they may be struck again and again. Calves, hogs and lambs are strung up by chains tied to their hind legs. When the chains slip, or legs are disjointed and broken, they crash from high conveyor lines to the slaughter house floors. The throats of the calves are severed by sawing motions; lambs are

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MICHAEL STRAIGHT, *Editor-at-Large*
HELEN FULLER, *Managing Editor*

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Lucille Davis, *Copy Asst.* — F. R. Ruskin, *Admin. Asst.*

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knifed behind an ear and slowly bled to death; hogs with slit throats frequently pass, still squealing, into scalding vats.

None of these methods is necessary today. Hogs may be anesthetized by carbon dioxide gas; cattle can be stunned painlessly and with certainty by captive bolt pistols—techniques used throughout Western Europe. As long ago as 1893 Switzerland enacted legislation requiring animals to be rendered insensible before slaughtering. Eight other European countries followed suit. In contrast, most American meat packers have stood fast.

Captive bolt pistols are rejected by our packers because earlier models reduced the market value of the animals brains which are sold as meat to low-income groups. Later models leave their brains intact. Carbon dioxide units are scorned by the major packers because they are "uneconomic." But Hormel and Oscar Mayer, two companies which now use these units, compete successfully with the major packers today.

For 20 years Swift and Armour, the industry spokesmen, have insisted that they were perfecting humane killing methods and have pleaded for patience. Recent tours of their plants establish that they have made no advances toward humane slaughtering in 40 years. The patience of the humane societies has been exhausted. On their behalf Sen. Hubert Humphrey has introduced and guided through Senate hearings a bill to require humane slaughtering of animals within five years. The packers are lobbying against the bill. So is Agriculture Secretary Ezra Benson, who seems to be sensitive to their pressure. Orthodox rabbis have delayed its enactment, insisting on their right to cut the throats of live animals by kosher methods, and yet maintaining that to exempt them by name will arouse anti-Semitism. At the same time Senators have been receiving an astonishing amount of mail from citizens who believe that slaughtering by brutal methods has been tolerated far too long. Humphrey is heartened by this response. He hopes to get his bill reported out of the Agriculture Committee, debated and made law before Congress adjourns.

Ridden Out on a Legal Rail

JUDGE WALTER B. JONES, whose Macaulayan views on the Federal Constitution we dealt with two weeks ago, is not a federal judge, as we mistakenly indicated, but a state circuit court judge at Montgomery. In that capacity, he has now issued a temporary injunction forbidding further operations of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Alabama. The organization is ordered to go into a state of suspended animation until such time as the injunction can be made permanent. There is no likelihood that Judge Jones, having put his hand to the plow, will remove it.

Similar attacks on the NAACP have been made, or are in process of being made in other sections of the South. Just how the proposed expulsion of the NAACP can improve race relations, or solve the problem of segregation, or relieve the strain of adjustment to the Supreme Court's decree on school integration, is a mystery. But that does not keep it from being the course chosen by constituted authorities to appease an inflamed public sentiment.

The NAACP is accused of acts which "have resulted in violations of our laws and tend in many instances to create a breach of the peace." That is to say, it is charged with inciting lawlessness by helping Autherine Lucy seek admission to the University of Alabama, or fostering the Montgomery bus boycott. In short, the NAACP is not to be allowed to urge Negroes to insist on their constitutional rights.

The Sunshine Case

THE COURT OF APPEALS in Washington has just ruled that it is "an interference with freedom of the press" for the Post Office to bar allegedly obscene literature from the mails without a prior hearing. (*Sunshine Book Co. v. Summerfield*). The ruling applies "with equal force to books, magazines and newspapers, all of which are entitled to the protection of the First Amendment." By its action the Court thus moved to outlaw those Post Office censorship activities described by Edward de Grazia in his articles appearing in the January 23 and January 30, 1956, issues of *The New Republic*.

The magazines involved in this case were nudist publications managed and edited by an ordained Baptist minister and his daughter. In ordering a permanent injunction against the Post Office, the Court also warned that "honest, sincere works must be distinguished from publications wholly for the purpose of profitably pandering to the lewd and lascivious." "Any literary, scientific or other merits" must be considered in weighing "the risk" of circulation against the "freedom of the press."

In his articles Mr. de Grazia described the Post Office censorship activities condemned by the Court and pointed out that they were being pursued in disregard of an earlier decision by the Court. This "disregard" was explicitly noted by the Court in *Sunshine*.

Reversal by Dulles

IF OUR friends abroad wait in agonizing suspense for the next pronouncement of Secretary Dulles, imagine how Mr. Dulles himself must wait in fear and trembling for the transcript of White House news conferences. He will at least be spared that agony during the President's recuperation.

The President's recent discourse on neutralism, for

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example, bespeaks unmistakably the influence of foreign policy advisers at sixes with Secretary Dulles. While the President volunteered that neutralism does not necessarily "mean neutrality as between right and wrong, or between decency and indecency," his Secretary of State three days later declared neutralism to be "immoral."

Here is a clearly defined difference in policy and the President is not now in a position to have it his way, rather than Mr. Dulles'.

To their credit, Mr. Dulles and even Vice President Nixon have recently made statements calculated to create a favorable climate for Prime Minister Nehru's July visit. But Secretary Dulles has made it clear he does not equate tolerance of Nehru with *approval* of non-alignment. The President, on the other hand, said that he

> cannot see that that is always to the disadvantage of such a country as ours if a nation is truly neutral, and if it is attacked by anybody—and we are not going to attack them—public opinion of the world is outraged. If it has announced its military association with another great power, things could happen to it, difficulties along its borders, and people would say, "Good enough for it. They asked for it."

The President's words raised doubts as to the value of the entire Dulles-sponsored military alliance strategy. And, in so doing, Mr. Eisenhower rendered a great service. But there were repercussions. Minister-Counselor Rahman of the Embassy of Pakistan—a charter member of both SEATO and the Baghdad Pact—paid a prompt call on the Secretary of State. The President's remarks seemed to him deliberately aimed at Pakistan, which has increasing "difficulties along its borders" as a result of Soviet support to secessionist tribesmen known as Pakhtoons. The Soviets understandably use Pakistan's military alliance with the United States as a pretext for this subversion.

Amid the clamor from Pakistan and other military allies, the White House issued its "explanatory" assurance that the President meant no offense to the principle of collective security. This itself must have undone any initial benefit gained by the President's remarks in neutralist countries. Mr. Dulles plainly persuaded his chief to beat a graceless retreat.

Moratorium on Testing

If Bulganin's proposal that the US further cut its armed forces does not bring us any closer to a disarmament, neither does it bar the US from taking other and more sensible steps in the direction of a relaxation of tensions. As *The New Republic* suggested two weeks ago, we do not have to wait for a comprehensive disarmament agreement before seeking an international ban on further tests of megaton (million ton) force bombs. Nor do we need Russian acceptance of an enforcement and inspection system in order to propose *now* a separate international ban on the testing of the intercontinental ballistic missile, which is, fortunately, still in the experimental stage.

Within the past 10 days, these proposals have been endorsed by highly qualified sources. Editor Eugene Rabinowitch, writing in the June issue of the *Bulletin of American Scientists,* points out that the proposals for banning tests by international agreement are not to be confused with the position of Adlai Stevenson favoring unilateral announcement by the US of its decision to halt megaton weapons tests—a position which still seems practical to us. Apparently both the Federation and the writers in the *Bulletin* drew back from his approach. Yet, their recommendations go substantially beyond either Mr. Stevenson or the President, since they call for an international ban not only on megaton bomb tests but on long-range missile testing.

Dr. Charles Price of the University of Pennsylvania, testifying before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for the Federation of American Scientists, gave five reasons why a total ban on nuclear weapons testing was both desirable and feasible. The ban, he said, would prevent or greatly retard the development of nuclear weapons by countries not now in possession of them, would relax international tensions which have been heightened by each test series, would minimize worldwide concern over the level of radioactivity in the atmosphere, would be enforceable simply by UN monitoring at a few fixed detection sites or from aircraft flying over international waters, and would release both money and technical manpower for peaceful nuclear progress.

Could such a ban be safely adopted by the US? Physicist David Inglis of the Argonne National Laboratory has commented on the possibility of evasion of any agreed-upon ban by small air bursts that could not be detected by radioactive monitoring, or by deep underground tests that would not show up on the seismograph. But he concludes that "It seems very likely that a complete study would show that technically possible evasions would be of a minor nature and would not upset the stalemate."

Air Force Colonel Leghorn (ret.) argues the case for a ban on the testing of the long-range rocket mechanism by saying:

> Our government is now committed to two inconsistent and contradictory courses of action. . . . On the one hand, we have a crash program to develop long-range rocket missiles. On the other hand, we are pressing a program to prevent the possibility of surprise attack.

Yet the long-range rocket, the Colonel contends, once developed and hidden, "will render meaningless any warning." The hidden intercontinental ballistics missile

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will be no more detectable by present inspection methods than are the present stocks of nuclear bombs.

The Germans in World War II found they had to fire thousands of the V-2 rockets to perfect a mechanism which travelled only 300 miles. Similar experimentation will be needed for the intercontinental ballistics missile, which will travel hundreds of miles above the earth and be easily recognized on a radar screen. A violation of the ban on the testing of the mechanism could be detected by a few radars and ground observers.

Colonel Leghorn anticipates one objection to the moratorium: a ban on the rocket mechanism would slow down the development of earth statellites and space flight. This he answers by proposing, and rightly we believe, agreement between the US and the USSR, supported by all other nations, for a co-operative conquest of space, an enterprise which has no conceivable private advantage to any one nation state.

Leghorn concludes:

> Unless we begin to control testing of large rockets within a year, time will run out, just as it recently ran out for control of nuclear warheads. 1956 is the year to meet this towering menace.

An international ban on the testing of both nuclear weapons and the ICBM mechanism can be separated from negotiations on general disarmament, and should be proposed by the US *now*.

Algeria—No Peace in Sight

FRANCE'S problem in Algeria is Britain's problem in Kenya writ large, and complicated by generations of wishful thinking. A million of Algeria's nine million inhabitants are Frenchmen, who have been crossing the Mediterranean to settle there for the last hundred years. The French constitution treats Algeria as part of metropolitan France. If this theory were carried out in practice, Algeria would have 120 of the 600 seats in the French Assembly, and 106 of these would be occupied by Arabs. In fact, Algeria has only 30 seats in Paris: half of these are reserved for white men, and elections for the 15 Arab seats have always been rigged by the French authorities in Algeria. So the Algerian Arabs, unlike their cousins in Morocco and Tunisia have never developed spokesmen with whom France could negotiate; and they have no confidence whatever in the good faith of French Governments.

Economic factors have made the political situation even more explosive. The country is poor in any case, and France has preferred to produce cheap wine there rather than grain. Improved medical services have brought a great increase in the Arab population—half the present inhabitants are under 20. But the average Arab today eats only three-fifths as much cereals as his grandfather 50 years ago. It is not surprising that the whole country burst into flame as the sparks of Arab nationalism settled in it from Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia.

Large-scale guerrilla warfare began 18 months ago, and it has got steadily worse. To meet it France has drawn nearly all her troops out of NATO and called up new age-groups of conscripts. Yet with nearly 400,000 French soldiers hunting 15,000 rebels there is no sign of the "pacification" which the French Government insists on achieving before it will negotiate a settlement. Meanwhile, as atrocity follows atrocity on both sides, the psychological basis for a settlement is being destroyed.

It looks as if Prime Minister Mollet believes he cannot at present control the consequences of any step to break the deadlock. Most people agree that if Algeria were given independence right away, the French settlers there would fight to impose their own form of Apartheid on the Arabs. Since they have a monopoly of force in Algeria, they might succeed in setting up a parody of South Africa. If they failed, they would stream back to France and become the backbone of a new Fascist movement there. It is doubtful whether French democracy could survive their pressure. So Mollet has done no more than assert a few principles which should govern a settlement—that Algeria should be formally separated from metropolitan France, perhaps as a federal state, and that though French and Arabs should in future vote together, the two groups should be guaranteed equality of rights. Meanwhile elections will be held as soon as areas are pacified, to produce Arab representatives with whom France may ultimately negotiate.

IT IS easy to criticize the ambiguity and contradictions in these proposals. But no progress is possible until the French settlers in Algeria are brought to reason—or more probable, until the extremist diehards can be isolated from the rest. It may be some time yet before enough Frenchmen can be brought to face the realities of the situation. By then, the Arabs may have been driven far beyond the point of compromise. And it is likely that if the present policy continues much longer, France will not only lose Algeria, but also destroy any chance she has at present of keeping a friendly association with Morocco and Tunisia.

London DENIS HEALEY, M.P.

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The Evolution of a Presidential Candidate

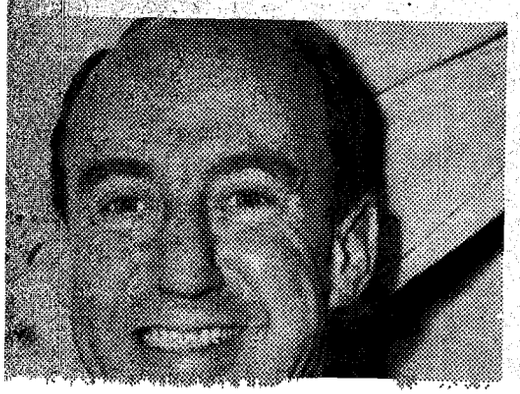
THE BRITISH are kinder to their candidates, for in Britain politicians "stand" for office; here they "run." And not only do they run; they eat, smoke, dance and handshake their way through campaigns. And they talk. "I can testify," Adlai Stevenson said two weeks ago, "to the accuracy of a line in Froude's life of Bunyan to the effect that the exercise of perpetual speaking is not conducive to the highest thought." The photographs of Mr. Stevenson during the several parts of his public life are evidence of a developing capacity to behave like a politician, hoping for the opportunity of serving as a statesman. Between those who are alarmed at his lacking "the common touch," and those who are alarmed at his having too much of it, Mr. Stevenson has not lacked critics, but he has gone his own way. It is said that he retains his sense of the ridiculous. If he has not, this pictorial view of the evolution of a Presidential candidate may strike him as appalling.

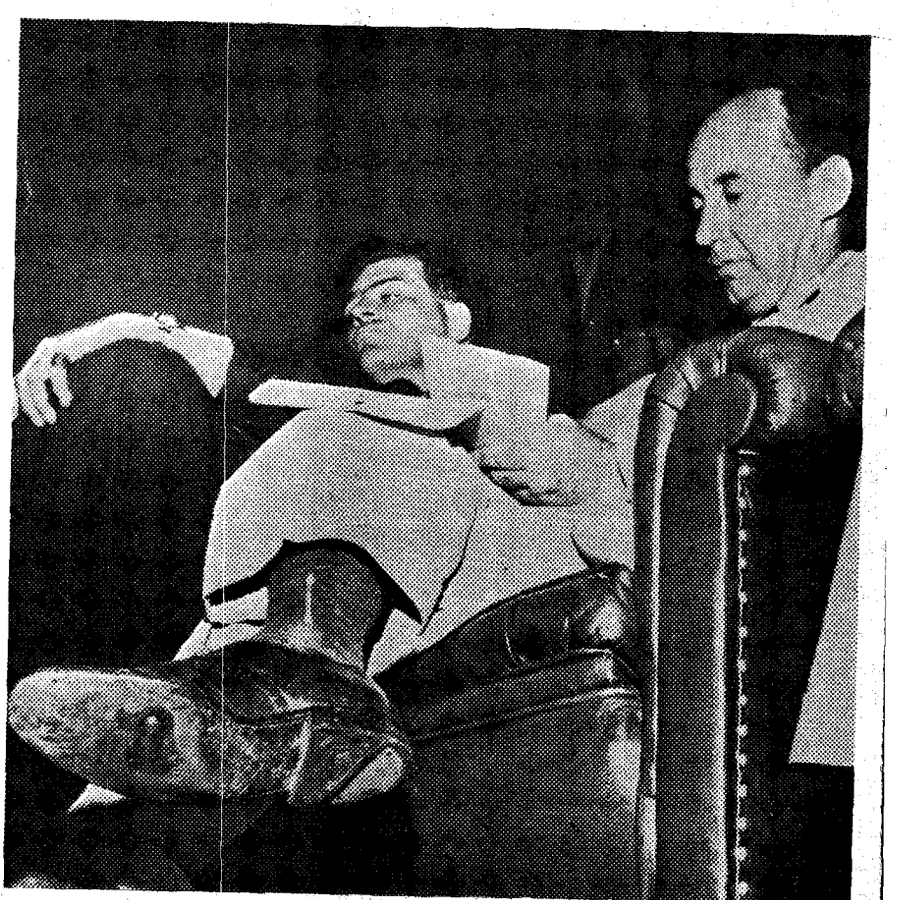
February 11, 1943—With Frank Knox and the Navy

November 24, 1945—UN Preparatory Commission

October 17, 1946—US Delegates to the UN

November 2, 1948—Campaigning for Governor of Illinois





September 2, 1952—Time Out in Detroit

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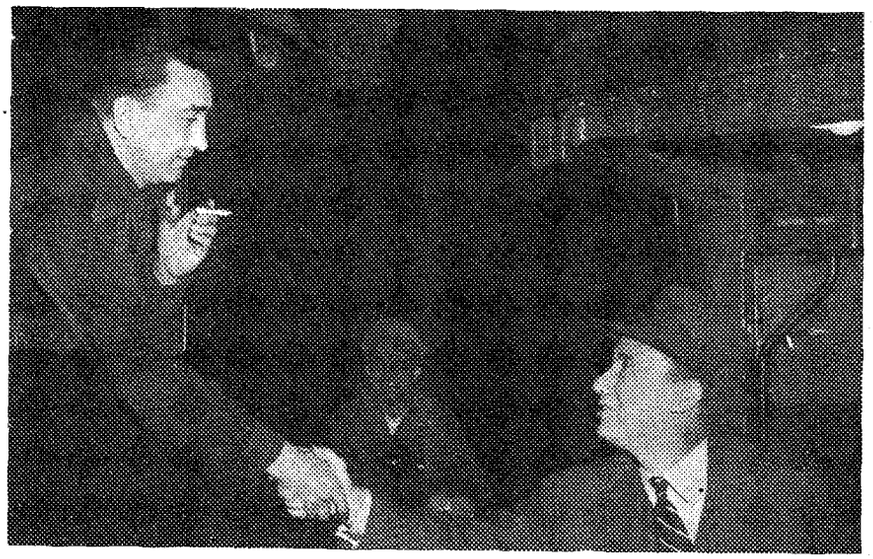

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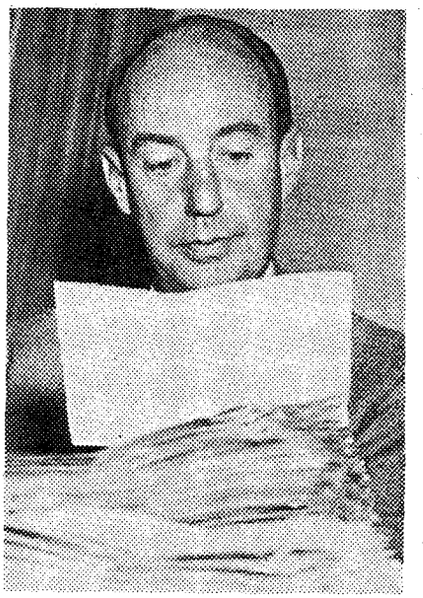
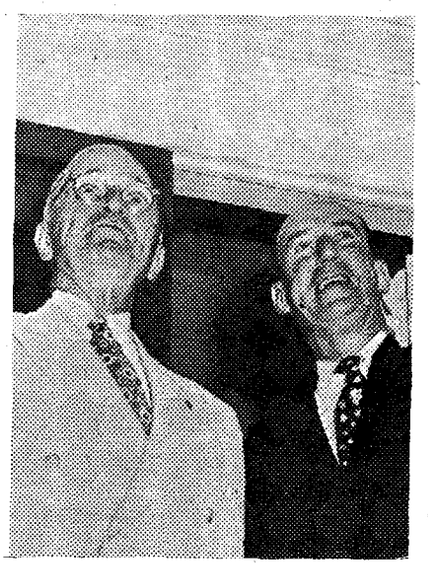


November 6, 1952

March 23, 1953



August 5, 1954

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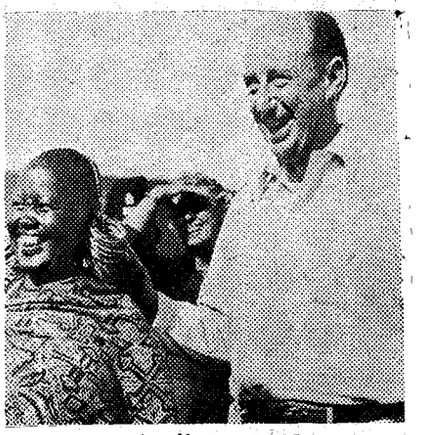
November 3, 1954



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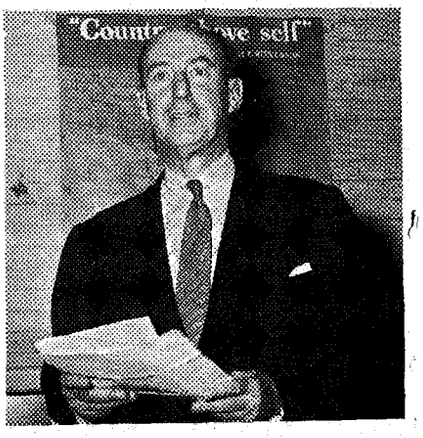

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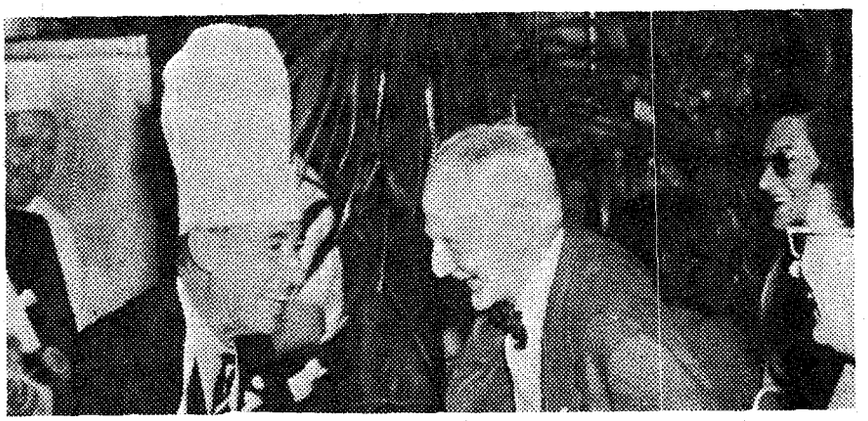

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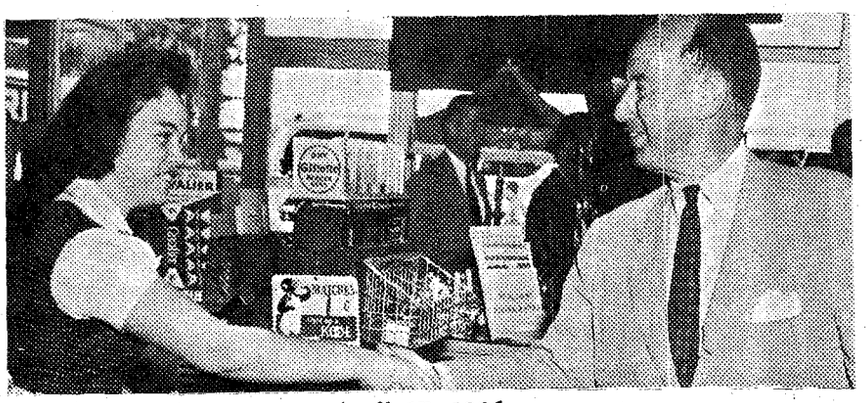

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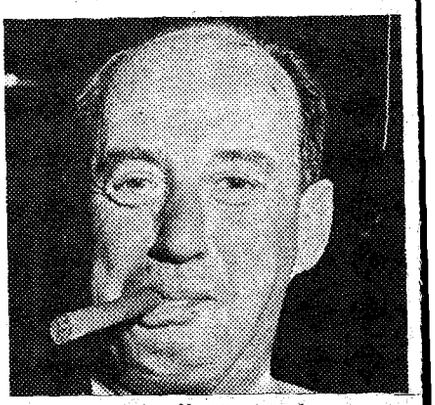

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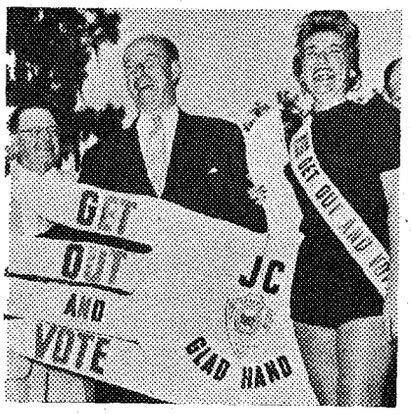

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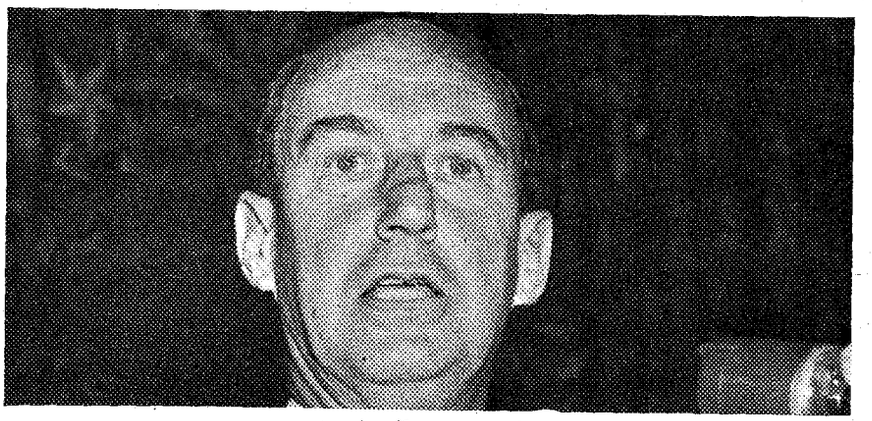

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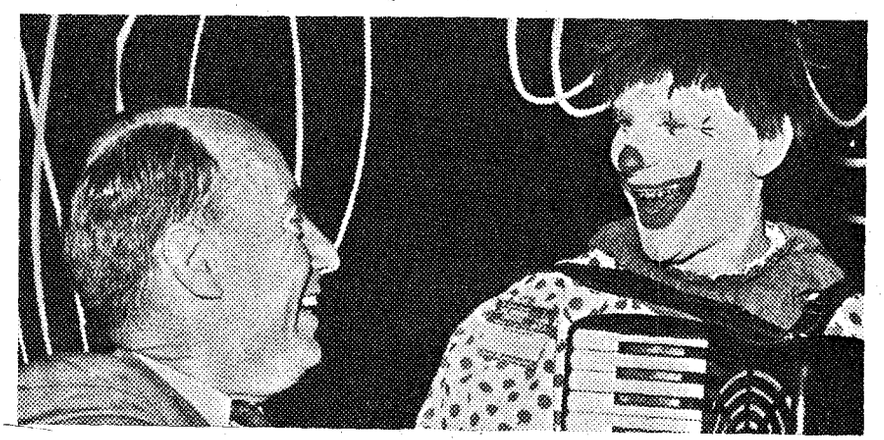

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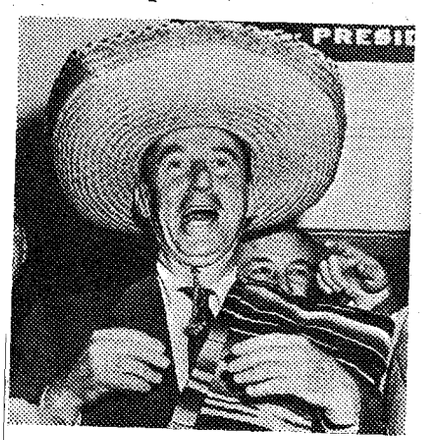

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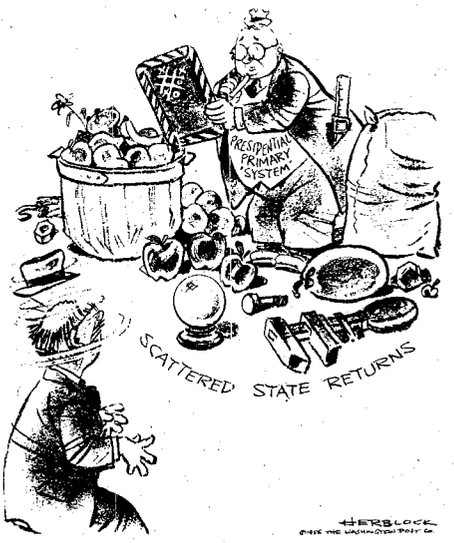
Primary Question

by GERALD W. JOHNSON

"THIS MEAT GRINDER system," Eric Sevareid's description of the Presidential primary, is under heavy attack, but a good deal of it is anonymous. The absurdity of the thing became manifest in Florida and California, when the only Democrat who has a ghost of a show in November, came near being put out of the race by a man who is only technically eligible for the Presidency. As a matter of practical politics Mr. Kefauver is not eligible, and every experienced politician knows it; he is barred under the maxim, "Keep Jeff Davis out of the White House." True, it is an idiotic maxim, but it is potent, and this year it has been given renewed potency by the Nullification Proclamation of the Hundred Members from the South. Kefauver's candidacy was a fraud from the start, but it might easily have made Harriman or Symington the Democratic nominee.

Yet political leaders of all parties simply will not be quoted as opposing the Presidential primary. The reason is plain enough. Opposition to the primary is equated with bossism in the popular mythology of politics, and no politician can afford to admit that he is or aspires to be a boss. So they confine their raving against the Presidential primary to private conversation; in public they are discreetly silent.



"Let's see — four oranges plus three apples, minus one monkey wrench, times two bushels—"

What they need, if they are to come into the open, is a better argument against the primary than those that have been advanced hitherto. Sevareid's "meat-grinder," for example, while accurate enough as applying both to candidates and to party organizations, provokes little popular indignation because the flat truth is that the people are only mildly stirred by the grinding up of candidates and parties; the cynical belief that they have it coming is widespread. A real revolt against the thing can be inspired only by presenting evidence, not that it is hard on the politicians, but that it is hard on the people.

It is just that, but the demonstration is difficult because it calls for realistic thinking in a field from which realism is conspicuously absent, that of political terminology. "Let the people rule" is the very mudsill of American political philosophy, but politicians rarely take pains to define the word "rule" although the maxim is meaningless unless that word is understood.

The Founding Fathers realized that the people cannot rule over a large area by the instrumentality of absolute democracy; therefore, they established this government as a representative democracy. But later experience demonstrated that the people cannot rule effectively over a small area by the representative system, so the primary, an approach to absolute democracy, was instituted and proved wonderfully effective in deposing precinct and even county bosses.

What we can't get through our heads is that the reasoning was both right and wrong in both cases—right as long as it was applied within its natural limitations, wrong as soon as it was extended beyond them. The New England Town Meeting was an effective instrument of democracy within the New England town; but the Electoral College was also an effective instrument in the first three Presidential elections. To assume that either idea must be effective however far extended is like thinking that because one aspirin tablet makes you feel better, 20 will make you feel very much better, which is not the case.

Bryan's dictum—the cure for the evils of democracy is more democracy—has been turned to derision these many years, but it is essentially sound. It seems absurd only to those who have forgotten, or never have understood the meaning of democracy; it is government in accordance with the will of the people, but it is a principle of both good law and good morals that consent obtained by force or fraud does not represent the will of the victim.

When the people vote on the basis of misinformation or no information, the vote is not an authentic expression of their will. The Presidential primary as it is at present conducted is actually an implement for spreading misinformation, for what the voters are told in a primary campaign is often false and nearly always irrelevant. It is bound to be so, for the candidates in a primary represent, at least in theory, the same basic principles of government. The differences between them are matters of personality and popular appeal; and such matters have little relevance to a man's fitness for the office of President.

This is not true of every office. An official whose work brings him into daily contact with members of the public ought to be an affable individual who likes people and takes pleasure in being of service to them. The personality and popular appeal of a county Register of Deeds,

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for example, are important qualifications for that office and his nomination by primary is consistent with the democratic principle. But the President of the United States has to deal, not with you and me, but with B. and K., and his competence to handle those wily Russians is not measured by his affability and readiness to be of service. The traits of personality that enable him to conduct a successful primary campaign are irrelevant and should not be a factor in his nomination.

Under present conditions they are not, for Presidential primaries are not binding on the national conventions. This is one of the positive evils of the system, for to call on the people to vote when nobody will be bound by their decision undermines respect for the ballot.

Many critics have pointed out that the primary under present conditions has the disadvantage that it wears out the candidates, the issues and the people. For instance, if Adlai Stevenson is nominated by the Democrats what can he say next fall that he has not already said in Florida and California? In the critical days of the campaign his speeches will sound like old stuff and voters will listen with half an ear.

But perhaps more important, although more subtle, is the influence the present system has in blunting the public perception of the real nature of our government. The fact that it is a half-and-half system, neither absolute, nor entirely representative, democracy is one that every voting citizen ought to have clearly in mind at all times. Keeping it in mind would immunize the voter against a great deal of nonsensical argument, and politics suffers far more from fustian than from conscious and positive evil.

A generation ago Richard S. Childs, the short-ballot advocate, propounded a thesis that should be nailed to the door of every polling-place in the country. His words were, "It isn't democracy if it doesn't democ!" If it doesn't translate into action the true desire of an informed electorate, it isn't democracy no matter how many times the people go to the polls; and you can't make it democracy by naming it so.

The people, as distinguished from the politicians, have only one political wish; it is for the form of government that, in the words of the Declaration of Independence, "to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness." Whatever furthers the fulfillment of this wish is democratic; whatever tends to frustrate it is not. That solid fact cannot be altered or abolished by all the gabble in the world.

It is hard to see how anyone can claim with a straight face that the Presidential primary, as at present conducted, contributes to this end; and it is easy to see how it tends to take the edge off popular perception of the realities of the democratic system. By comparison with this, the fact that it uses up candidates and drives political managers to drink is of little moment; for the maintenance and development of the political skill of the American electorate is of first importance, not only to our own well-being, but also to the success of our leadership of the free world. It is so important that we could well afford, if need be, to sacrifice to its furtherance all political parties and to drive into Bedlam all political managers and all candidates from this day until the millennial dawn when Gabriel shall sound his trump.

Negros in the North

by WARNER BLOOMBERG, JR.

THE STILL-RUNNING tide of Southern Negroes migration into the Chicago Metropolitan Area continues to enlarge the Negro proportion of the population each year. It has produced some strange as well as strained situations as the old boundaries of Black Belt residence have given way. In a few years neighborhoods have "changed," to use the sociological euphemism for wholesale and often bitterly resented shifts of urban populations, changed to an extent that in times past would have required a decade or more. Communities which once were relatively homogeneous with respect to both class and color suddenly contain a startling mixture of races and income levels—at least until the remaining middle-class whites, those less disturbed by the change or more tied to their present dwellings by tradition, financial problems or just inertia, also move out. (Some areas near the University of Chicago have become the site of a remarkable experiment in social engineering as well as proposed massive slum clearance and rebuilding. Some hope that here will develop a historic exception to the tendency for "integrated" neighborhoods to be only the period of transition between an all-white community and an all-black one.)

At the elementary school in one such suddenly altered neighborhood you can see well-groomed white children delivered in the morning in expensive new automobiles, while at the same time shabbily dressed Negro children, whose working-class parents often are recent escapees from the even more deprived life of the Deep South, arrive boisterously and on the run at the same entrances.

WARNER BLOOMBERG JR., *who teaches at the University of Chicago, worked in the mills in Gary, Ind., for many years.*

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The problems, inevitably, have been very great. Fortunately, some of the teachers have more than risen to the occasion. They have found, however, that the Negro children are almost uniformly passive with respect to classroom participation in the early grades, though often reciting dutifully if called on. So the teacher of one first-grade class was almost startled when, during a "say-tell" session, a little Negro boy whose family had been in Chicago less than two months raised his hand. (During the "say-tell" a child "says" what he did or what happened to him and then proceeds with the "telling" about it—often about such subjects as "my new dollie" or "where we went on Sunday.") The teacher called upon her new pupil and then received a shock: he announced, "I'm goin' to tell about integration."

While the teacher sat in a state of unbelieving near paralysis, hardly daring to breathe, the child went on. "I likes Chicago. I likes Chicago because there ain't no holes in the doors. Back home there's holes in the doors and you got to take a stick to bed at night." (A chorus of "why's" from the white children.) " 'Cause the rattlesnakes come in through the holes."

The children were on the edge of their seats in excitement and tension at this dramatic disclosure. "Rattlesnakes!" several of them shouted. "What do you do?" The young narrator, now aware of his domination over the classroom, enjoyed it fully as he announced slowly and ominously, "It's you . . . or the snakes!" Then, with a child's intuitive wisdom, he discharged all the anxiety of their intense interest and new found fears by adding, "But I likes Chicago, 'cause there's no holes in the doors here and the snakes can't come in at night." He sat down.

It is almost impossible for a white person to know in more than an abstract, intellectual way what it means to be a Negro, means at the emotional level, at the level of how one feels about oneself. Few white persons have become fully aware of what the integration issue has meant in these terms to most American Negroes, North as well as South—the fullness of the jubilation at the Supreme Court's decision and the dismay and anger at the subsequent tragic reaction of so many of the Southern political leaders and community officials. It is at least a hint that this six-year-old son of all but illiterate Southern Negroes had picked up the word "integration" as standing for whatever there was in life, especially his new life, that was good, an improvement. He had caught the spirit for all he could not grasp the content: integration means that minimum condition of life without which there can be neither dignity nor safety—"the snakes can't come in at night."

Because the issue of integration means so much to American Negroes, so much more than it can mean to even the most liberal whites, every explosion in the South has reverberations throughout the North. Because they are often unofficial, private reactions, they go largely unnoticed, like the endless scattering of echoes on a battlefield. I have been told by an unusually sensitive school official in the Great Chicago Area, a man expertly trained with respect to such matters, that in his system in those schools with mixed Negro-white enrollment the level of tension between the two groups of children has definitely risen since the decision on integration. "Nothing too overt, nothing dangerous—so far," he explained. "A sharper sense of difference here, a little more hostility there, a little rise in reported inter-racial conflicts."

Adult Negro-white relationships in the North also have been affected. In some of the factories in this same region that employ many Negroes the tension between Negroes and whites has become much more noticeable. In at least a few instances there have been fights or near-fights on the production floor that began with arguments between Negro and white workers about what was happening in the South. In one recent example of this a Southern-born white suddenly went after the Negroes with a Stilson-wrench, and only the intervention of a quick-thinking union official prevented bloodshed.

In another large Chicago union, a group of Negroes proposed that the local express its support and sympathy for the bus boycott in Montgomery. The reaction of the whites who held most of the officer positions was almost unanimous in its opposition. One of them accurately reflected the opinions and feelings of the rest when he exclaimed, "By God! Equality ain't good enough for them guys! Now they want to be better'n the rest of us!" There were proposals to run an all-white slate of officer candidates in the next local election, for the first time in the local's history.

The international to which this local belongs is on record as favoring, not only integration in the schools, but also the rest of the broad civil-rights program traditionally advocated by the liberal wing of the American trade-union movement. The local has passed resolutions before on social issues in accordance with broad international policies. But these had not previously threatened the internal solidarity of the union, nor had they been proposed and pushed in the face of white resistance by the large but heretofore "co-operative" Negro minority.

In all but a relatively few remarkable and heartening local unions in Northern industries the "place" of the Negro member has been defined and limited with respect to both the offices held by individuals and the role of the group as a caucus. Where there are many Negroes in the local, the office of vice president usually goes to a Negro, but never the president and almost never the powerful post of financial secretary. The Negroes are expected to be "hot" on all issues involving discrimination within the plant, but they also are expected to set as a boundary to their militancy that point at which the antagonistic reaction of the whites might precipitate a serious crisis. Often in times of crisis older Negroes, who in many in-

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stances learned to "get along" in the plant even before there was a union and who frequently enjoy high status in the Negro community outside the mill, have been called upon to step in and "set right" some of the younger hotbloods.

The plant where the proposal to "resolute for the boys in Montgomery" caused such a stir had this kind of local union. Undoubtedly, had the resolution reached the floor of a meeting all hell would have broken loose. There are many Negroes in the union, but there also are many Southern whites. They have had to work side by side with the Negroes under a union contract, often have had to see them get promoted into jobs coveted by whites. Most of the Southerners have drawn solace from the memory of "what it's like back home" where "they still know how to handle niggers." During times of inter-racial tension in a department this becomes a conversational preoccupation of the Southern whites. Now, suddenly, the comforting image of "down home" is subverted and the situation in the North, where Negroes compete with whites for jobs in the plant and for living space and political power in the community, threatens to become pervasive instead of just a geographically locatable mistake.

THE Southerners are not the only whites deeply antagonistic toward the Negro members of the work force and the union. Some of the ethnic groups have equally intense prejudices. In times past the Negroes have served as a more or less stationary benchmark against which an immigrant group could measure its progress into the economic well-being and political power that go with full citizenship. But during the past two decades they have moved rapidly in that direction themselves. Ethnics and ex-ethnics, still insecure about their identity as "Americans" or disillusioned that rapid economic advance has not brought them anywhere near the level of contentment they dreamed of, become ever more sensitive to alleged Negro "pushiness" as the gap between them and the Negroes begins to narrow.

Yet, however much they have expressed prejudices and supported discriminatory actions against Negroes, these whites in the North have always staved off criticism or feelings of guilt by reminding themselves and others of how much better off the Negro is "up here" than in the South. "We got decent jobs in the mill for them, didn't we?" a union official once complained to me. "What more do they want? I don't see none of 'em going back South!" I know of another union officer who almost broke up a state-wide union conference on civil rights by asserting that none of the whites there, himself included, really believed in full equality for the Negro. In the bedlam of angry denunciations that followed, speaker after speaker reminded him of what the Negro had gained in the North because of the union and upbraided him for making such an assertion in public. But not one denied it. If the Southern Negroes catch up with the limited gains enjoyed by those in the North, the old comparison will no longer serve as an excuse for resisting further progress toward Negro-white equality. Then what? That question is in the back of the minds of some of the white millworkers in the North today.

Perhaps they are aware of the increased solidarity among Negro workers that, I am told, has developed in factories in Chicago, East Chicago and Gary since the integration decision. As a Negro who works on a furnace told me recently, "You just don't back down on that issue if it comes up, like you might do on others when you was arguin' with a white man and he began to get hot under the collar. You can't back off it, either. It means too much." Around this issue and the new mode of not backing down a shift of power is beginning to take place among the Negroes in some factories. The younger, more militant leaders increasingly challenge the older group whenever it resorts to techniques now considered a form of "Uncle Tommin'." Partly because of increased solidarity and a more intense sense of identity, and perhaps partly in response to the spreading Southern strategy of calling attention to forms of discrimination in the North, concern among many Northern Negroes over the still extensive inequality they experience also has heightened. If and when the situation in the South stabilizes, there may well be an outburst of demands for a new movement forward in the North.

It remains to be seen how serious may become the attitudes and forces created or enhanced in the North by the judicial attack on Southern segregation. One important Negro local union officer with whom I talked recently—a young man, well-educated, with a progressive outlook accompanied by tactical moderation—minimized the danger. He participates in a county-wide union civil-rights committee that acts as a clearinghouse for such problems. "We've heard about rumors of all-white slates for local elections," he told me, "but nothing comes of it. The fellows cool off after a while. Over-all, things are calm and I don't expect any serious problems." Another Negro, about the same age, who works in the same plant but is more militant, claims that there have already been some near fights stemming out of arguments over integration in departments with which he is personally familiar. He expects conflicts and tension to increase.

TIME will tell which of these two is most correct. So far the technique of watching out for trouble but not anticipating it, and settling any problems *ad hoc* as they arise, seems to be working. Nevertheless, it seems clear that this school integration decision has in varying degrees altered Negro-white relationships in every part of the nation. Northern whites who see the integration issue as only "a Southern problem" may be in for some rude surprises. The issue of full freedom for the race this nation once enslaved cannot be nicely divided and contained by geographical boundaries.

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BOOKS & COMMENT

Taking the Wraps off Germany

by J. F. Golay

ALTHOUGH I don't agree with some of it, this book is, in my judgment, a valuable contribution to the record on post-war Germany—the more so since remarkably few accounts have been published that are at all comprehensive. General Clay and some of his former advisors have told us part of the story from their points of view. State Department historians have produced monographs on a variety of topics. Mr. McCloy presumably feels that he has had his say in his official reports as High Commissioner, although we will hope that this is not the last word from him. M. François-Poncet, so far, has not followed up his reflections on his term as French Ambassador in pre-war Germany with a second volume on his post-war term. British officials seldom comment on their public service until after retirement. Sir Brian Robertson and Sir Ivone Kirkpatrick, former High Commissioners in Germany, are still at the center of British public life. There is a massive German periodical literature on Western German political, social and economic developments, but no book pulling it all together.

Return to Power: A Report on the New Germany, by Alistair Horne (Praeger; $6).

I say that this is remarkable, bearing in mind the scope of literature produced in the first ten years of the Weimar Republic and the fact that this time so many qualified people—officials high and low, journalists, and visiting experts—from Allied countries have had the opportunity of observing events in Germany at first hand. Nor are the Germans themselves normally at all backward about getting into print. Part of the explanation, at least on the Allied side, lies in the fact that much of the documentation on important decisions and events (hence, the first hand knowledge of them which a prospective author might have) is still subject to intergovernmental classification.

Behind this mania of the Western foreign offices for keeping their aging mountains of paper under cover lies, in my opinion, little but bureaucratic sloth: to sort it all out and agree on what can be released to the public is just too much trouble. Only a fraction of the material now has even a remote bearing on security, but it is argued that if the record of past international disagreements and blunders is made public it might prejudice contemporary or future international relations of some delicacy. The diplomats have a point here, but it diminishes in force every time the Secretary of State himself blurts out confidential matters and tramples on the susceptibilities of our friends. Anyway, this argument does not justify holding up release of the record beyond the term of a few years. The State Department, it should be said, has always been much more sensible and forthcoming in this matter than the British and French Foreign Offices. If their rules prevail, it will be decades before we see anything of the tripartite material on Germany.

THE field, therefore, is wide open to the journalists, who are able by their own observations and on their own credentials to fill in a good part of the picture without resort to unpublished official material. A Swiss journalist produced a good book last year. Now Mr. Horne reports on his three years as the correspondent in Bonn of the London *Daily Telegraph*. His book rises well above the usual journalistic rehash of dispatches tricked out with tittle-tattle to give local color and make us feel that we are "really there." He would not be in character if he did not regale us with a few of his chats with factory workers and managers, students, doughty Berliners, and hitch-hikers on the Autobahnen, but these are kept to a tolerable minimum. He has organized his book well around a half dozen or so major themes: EDC and after, reunification, the problems of rearming Germany, clemency for war criminals, neo-Nazism, industrial deconcentration, Allied-German relations, East-West German relations, party politics, and Western German economic and technical achievements. The material is excellent and Mr. Horne marshalls it expertly. Nor does he hesitate to make his own appraisals, which, with the exceptions I shall mention, seem to me very just.

THERE are, to my mind, two weaknesses. The first was perhaps unavoidable for reasons of time and space. Since Mr. Horne has concentrated exclusively on the events of his three years in Bonn, what he has to say about a good many matters is unrelated to developments in the previous seven post-war years, not to speak of earlier periods in Germany. In particular, his treatment of the political parties and the issues between them wants a more historical perspective.

The second concerns his view of Adenauer and his political opponents. Here we have the well-worn stereotype of post-war reporting on Germany: the wise, far-sighted, European-minded Chancellor obstructed by misguided nationalists, neo-Nazis and neutralist dupes of the Communists. For Mr. Horne, it is axiomatic that the tie between Western Germany and the West is, as he phrases it, "militarily, strategically, and economically essential to the survival of the Western world." It is natural, therefore, that along with the great majority in the West, he should have a strong partisan feeling for the Adenauer government.

But what I find surprising is that Mr. Horne, who shows himself in other parts of the book to be both well informed and judicious, can fail to acknowledge that, having regard to the long struggle in their history for unification and national identity and to their exposed position between East and West in Central Europe, many Western Germans could (without being nationalists, neo-Nazis or Communist tools) have legitimate misgivings about the implications for their future of participating in the European Defense Community or West European Union. The Social Democrats in particular come in for rough handling by Mr. Horne. Schumacher is characterized as a fanatical nationalist

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and some of his aims are suspected of being but little better than those of Hitler. At one point Mr. Horne concedes:

> . . . the [Social Democratic] party is one of the foremost stabilizing forces against any threatened revival of Nazism and could render democracy in Germany the very greatest service,

but goes on:

> yet it has allowed itself to be led by Dr. Schumacher into the cul-de-sac of nationalism as virulent as that of any other party, a sad fate for what between the wars had probably been the most internationally-minded of all Socialist parties.

These are absurdly harsh words. One could with as much or as little reason accuse the British of "virulent nationalism" for having not entered EDC.

It is well known that the Social Democrats were the strongest supporters of democratic constitutional government in the Weimar era and that, of all the German parties professedly loyal to the republic, they displayed the greatest courage and integrity when Hitler took power. As I read the record, this same courage and integrity has been manifest in the post-war efforts the Social Democrats have made—under the most trying difficulties and provocations—to preserve the conditions for the kind of society they hope may eventually develop in Germany. The difficulties and provocations were certainly not all of Communist making.

When in the first years after the war the Social Democrats were returned to power in some of the German state governments and wanted to reorganize certain industries on a public basis, the American and British Military Governments set aside the enactments and told the Social Democrats that this could be done only by national decision. Later, at the constituent assembly, when the Social Democrats wanted to put substantial constitutional powers for the same purpose in the hands of the central government, the Military Government took the line that this couldn't be done either, because it would concentrate too much power at the center. At the same time, the Military Governors were trying to foist on the constituent assembly electoral procedures for the parliament of the new republic which would vastly have favored the non-Socialist parties over the Social Democrats. Here was the source of much of Schumacher's bitterness against the Western Allies. The Social Democrats felt that they had deserved well of the wartime Allies and that they had not even had fair dealing.

The Social Democrats thought that the establishment of a full-fledged Western German government in 1948 was premature and would further complicate the problem of reunifying their country. Nevertheless, they co-operated with a good spirit in drafting the new constitution because they wanted to make sure that the constitutional foundations of the new Germany were soundly laid. In fact, the best of the constitutional provisions — those which have helped to promote a stable parliamentary situation and have strengthened Dr. Adenauer's hands as Chancellor—were Social Democratic inventions. Similarly, when the Social Democrats, after five fruitless years of opposition to tying Western Germany to the West militarily, suddenly found themselves recently with the power to hold up passage of the constitutional provisions for German defense forces, they chose not to use it. Their duty above all, as they saw it, was to use their influence to secure in the constitution properly-drawn democratic controls for the new German army. Yet these are the people whom Mr. Horne calls "virulent nationalists" and *The New York Times* calls "ever the corrosive element in German politics"!

The flood of his enthusiasm for the Chancellor also carries Mr. Horne overboard from time to time. He writes of Adenauer's retirement to his Rhineland home during the war:

> These were the years of Toynbeean "withdrawal" equivalent to St. John in the wilderness, Lenin in Siberia, or (one hesitates to draw the comparison) Hitler in Landsburg, during which time Dr. Adenauer read and reflected and developed his ideas on European integration and Franco-German coexistence.

Where, oh where were Mr. Horne's editors?

Adenauer, among the present leaders of the West, is indeed an immensely impressive and outstanding personality. Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Horne are right to rank him with Bismarck. In debate, negotiation and political maneuver, he has the Bismarckian skill and even something of the style, though, happily for his colleagues and family, not a whit of Bismarck's temperament. But I am skeptical about the picture of the great protagonist of European integration which Mr. Horne paints so assiduously. When all the record is out and deeds, not words, are taken as the measure, I shall be surprised if it is found that the Adenauer government, except in connection with rearmament, ever made an important concession of German interests to advance integration without being pushed into it by American officials. I mean no disparagement. Very likely the French and the rest will show up no better. But, for the present, can we not just settle that Adenauer is one of the great *German* Chancellors and wait until the passions and prejudices of cold war subside before passing out the prizes for *European* statesmanship? Who knows, future historians may even have a kind word or two for poor Dr. Schumacher.

Now for some of the things that struck me as particularly good in the book. There is an intensely interesting (and disturbing) account of the struggle in the Bonn defense office between the Army traditionalists and the reformers. Mr. Horne shows how divided the German military mind still is over the strategical and moral issues of the war, particularly the rights and wrongs of the July 20 conspiracy against Hitler. Mr. Horne, who appears himself to be somewhat shaken in his convictions at the end of this chapter, expresses misgivings over the effect of these divisions on the unity, morale and discipline of the new German forces.

On war criminals, he concludes that the wholesale release of prisoners under the "clemency" procedures (in May 1952 the total held by the Western powers was just under 1,000; at the end of 1954, just over 300), so far from winning us good will, has been taken by many Germans as an Allied confession of error and has reinforced their conviction that the trials were acts of retribution by the victors against innocent individuals who acted under orders. If this is in fact the typical reaction, one can only observe that it is a fitting outcome for a contemptible policy of expediency.

There is an informative chapter on the reconstitution of the Krupp indus-

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trial empire and the extent to which deconcentration of ownership and management in coal and iron and steel is being reversed in such of the big complexes as Mannesmann and Vereinigte Stahlwerke.

Explaining the reasons for the record recovery of the Western German economy, Mr. Horne takes the opportunity to draw some lessons for his compatriots. To British middle- and upper-class people who constantly grouse about the poor showing of the British workman compared with the German, he points out that the British worker does not have set for him the same example as the German. He asks how many British managing directors put in twelve hours a day six days a week, live on the factory premises to be close to their workers, and display the ingenuity of German managers and owners in solving production problems and finding new world markets.

He has a word of warning for those who assume that German party politics are now settling into a conventional two-party system. He shows that Adenauer's party itself is a loose coalition of diverse groups and interests with a vestigial party organization, and that as the post-war and cold war pressures that bound it together recede, it may have difficulty in holding its following after the eventual loss of Adenauer's leadership.

Now that we have had Mr. Horne's report, perhaps we can hope to hear from other first-class correspondents in Germany. Mr. Horne has set a good stiff pace.

Simone Go Home

by Donald Malcolm

CONVINCED of the importance of what she has to tell, Simone de Beauvoir feels no obligation to be tactful. She clutches the reader, so to speak, by the lapels, and pours out her narrative as if it were an argument —which, to a large extent, it is. The assaulted reader is apt to find this treatment impressive, even slightly overwhelming, but seldom interesting. The cardinal obligation of an argumentive novelist is to present a compelling argument. This rule the author flings down and dances upon.

The Mandarins, by Simone de Beauvoir (World; $6.75).

Concurrent with the flow of debate, and inseparable from it, runs the story of the various paths taken by the French intelligentsia in the post-liberation period, when the unity of the Resistance movement began to evaporate. A sizable collection of these worthies gathers on the first free Christmas in Paris, while the Battle of the Bulge is raging, to chat about art and World War III:

> ". . . if America should win out, the disaster wouldn't be quite so bad. If we were able to give her certain values while maintaining some of our own ideas, there'd be some hope that future generations would one day re-establish the ties with our own culture and traditions . . ."
>
> "Don't tell me that in case of a war you'd hope for an American victory . . .!"

Among those present were Henri Perron, a novelist and editor of the Resistance newspaper *L'Espoir*, who now dreams only of a long pleasure trip, to be followed by a light novel. His mistress, Paula, who insists on trying to relive the pre-war past, is hostess for the *soirée*. And over there stirring the punch is Robert Dubreuilh, who is organizing a political group, initialled S.R.L., which is to be "independent of the Communists without . . . serving the cause of the right." He warns the assemblage that the intelligentsia must immerse itself in political affairs.

And so they must. None of them can escape from this engagement with history—even in bed, as the author makes clear in an episode which left me wondering dimly for a moment if she could possibly be serious. Dubreuilh's wife, Anne, and Scriassine (whom I forgot to mention, as he is only an ex-Communist) meet in a cafe to discuss an unrewarding evening spent in bed together.

> "You know what chilled me?" [Anne inquires] "There were moments when you looked so terribly hostile."
>
> He shrugged his shoulders. "That couldn't be helped."
>
> "Why? The struggle between the sexes?"
>
> "We're not on the same side. I mean, politically."
>
> ". . . But politics has so little place in my life!"
>
> "Indifference is also a stand," he said sharply.

Anne subsequently has a lengthier affair (largely apolitical) with an American novelist, but this too comes to naught. As the novel ends she is pulling herself out of the Slough of Despond to help Henri think of a name for a new political weekly.

Henri's own struggles against the engaged life are feebler. His selfish pleasure trip to Portugal turns sour when he sees the dismal living conditions of the people, and on his return he is persuaded by Dubreuilh to make *L'Espoir* the official organ of the S.R.L. The remaining portion of the novel's 610 pages is devoted largely to parochial politics, leavened with discussions whose interest to the American reader is apt to be chiefly clinical:

> "So you see [says Dubreuilh] my duties as an intellectual, my respect for truth—that's all just so much idle chatter! The only question is to know whether, in denouncing the camps, you're working for mankind or against it."

The "camps" Dubreuilh refers to are the Soviet slave labor camps, and Henri's insistence on chiding the Communists for them produces a rift between the two men and a lover's quarrel between Henri and the Communists. By the end of the novel, however, these little differences are all patched up and everyone is happily working together on committees once more.

The novel's lengthy debates are more apt to exasperate than challenge the American reader, since the points he would find most debatable are not discussed, but simply "given" like the axioms of geometry. Briefly they run as follow: The aim of the S.R.L. is to build up an independent Left, strong enough to protect the civilization of France from encroachment by either the barbarism of America or that of Russia. But Russia (obviously) has no designs on Western Europe, and besides she represents, through Socialism, the cause

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of all mankind. America on the other hand, is the land of "nascent Fascism" and is seeking to "colonize Europe." Consequently, when events force a choice between these rival barbarisms, the French intellectual of conscience has a clear duty to side with the Soviet Union. Q.E.D.

Is *this* the lucidity of thought we are invited to admire in the French? Are we to accept as reasonable the proposition that the Marshall Plan is proof positive of American imperialism and that the Soviet slave labor camps are, at worst, just an incidental blemish on a noble cause? It would seem, from this post-liberation chronicle of the intelligentsia of the left, that the kingdom of the mind may itself suffer the fate of an occupied country.

Disarmament at a Stroke

by Michael Straight

"WHAT the government now proposes," writes Mr. Bolté, "is not a plan for disarmament."

> . . . It is a scheme to look at the existing armaments of Russia and the United States. This means that it is grossly more favorable to us than it is to the Russians because we know so little about them and they know so much about us. . . . I believe this to be a fatally mistaken policy.

In place of this policy Mr. Bolté urges the United States to adopt a detailed and foolproof plan for universal and enforceable disarmament.

The Price of Peace, by Charles Bolté (Beacon; $1.45).

In the first year of Mr. Bolté's plan, UN inspectors establish themselves in the factories, government offices and military establishments of every nation. By the fifth year all nations are limited to small police forces lightly armed. Naval vessels, heavy weapons, military aircraft, guided missiles and nuclear stockpiles are either impounded by the UN or destroyed; armories and (presumably) breeder reactors are in UN hands; a Disarmament Agency is functioning under the Security Council and is supported by a UN armed force of 300,000 volunteers "completely airborne" and equipped with nuclear weapons; and these bodies in turn are subject to world law, interpreted by UN courts with power "to issue injunctions against violations of the agreement and to try individual violators under an established criminal code." Communist China is necessarily a member of the UN. In all other respects the organization which is granted so much power is unaltered; the Security Council retaining the veto power and the Assembly remaining a body in which the US and Costa Rica each cast one vote.

"Such a plan," Mr. Bolté concedes, "seems at the moment so far from the possible that one hesitates even to mention it." To make it seem not only possible but essential Mr. Bolté undertakes to behead the alternatives to his approach in a few sweeping strokes. "The prospect before us," he insists, "is one of increasing tension. . . . There is no *assurance* that we can get through this period without recourse to arms." (The italics are mine.) Therefore, he maintains, his plan or one like it is a military *"necessity,"* a political *"imperative."* Anything less would not be *"safe."*

All this is true, and yet the retort of the gradualist is obvious: there are no "imperatives" in politics; no "necessities" in government by men; no "assurances" of peace in any plan. On the contrary, given today's conflicts, absolute safety is by definition absolutely impossible. The alternative which we seem to be choosing by indirection is to live with the danger, to be governed by illogic in permitting non-military considerations to dictate a gradual uncontrolled reduction of armaments by both sides. Nuclear weapons, the gradualist would have to concede, are multiplying as conventional forces shrink. Our best hope, he would add, may be that if tensions continue to subside between ourselves and our enemies nuclear weapons will seem increasingly incongruous until they become unusable by mutual consent. Only then will they be laid aside.

Mr. Bolté would reject this approach, and for persuasive reasons: nuclear war, he would argue, is too terrible to risk; we cannot afford to wait until the hatreds that seem to justify nuclear weapons wear away. To this once again the gradualist rejoinder is plain: a plan to abolish sovereignty in armaments, if strenuously pursued, may in itself increase tensions and risks of war. Mr. Bolté's insistence that his plan be executed within a span of four years, the gradualist would insist, is in itself proof of its unreality.

There is merit in both approaches; both need to be clarified in public debate. But debate has lapsed since 1948. The Federalists have diminished in numbers and in vigor; the government has worked behind closed doors. But now there is a new fluidity in relations between the Kremlin and the West. There is new reason in consequence to enliven interest in arms reduction and to sharpen opinion. Mr. Bolté's book meets the need. It is eloquent and provocative and it could not have come at a better time.

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Drugs and the Mentally Ill

by Henry A. Davidson

PERHAPS you know some, doctor nurse, or social worker who might be recruited for service in a mental hospital. Hide this book. Mr. Gorman's assault on the "typical" public hospital is so savage that any prospective staff member will think twice before accepting an appointment.

Among psychiatrists, there is uncertainty about the cause of mental disease.

Every Other Bed, by Mike Gorman (World; $4).

Environment? Social problems? Individual psycho-dynamics? Bio-chemistry? Inter-personal relations? What *is* the cause? I don't know and you don't know. But Mr. Gorman knows: somatic disease causes mental illness. He believes that investigation of inter-personal, epidemiologic, sociologic, or dynamic factors is wasted research. In a chapter entitled "Some Research Tasks Ahead," he enumerates projects like brain circulation, metabolism, enzymes, electrical waves, and genetics. But he has no interest in research in psychotherapy, sociology, epidemiology, or psycho-dynamics.

Mr. Gorman is at his best in interpreting staff shortages, and at his worst in pontificating on treatment technics. He pays a deserved tribute to the alien physician who is helping hold the dike against the flood of mental disease, and who is so often rewarded with ostracism, patronage, condescension and prejudice. He alerts the reader to the wall between private practice and public hospital psychiatry, and points out how hard it is for the hospital to hold licensed physicians on its staff.

Mr. Gorman seems to think that finding the key to the mind's mysteries is a matter of money. "Give them the money; the men will follow," is the keynote. While this is probably a serious over-simplification, it is certainly true that unless research is well nourished financially, it will die.

The author has been sold on the new pharmaceuticals. He writes page after page listing experiments (all successful) in the clinical application of these drugs. Any doctor who suggests that these alembics are not really miracles, is condemned as being a member of the "Old Guard," or as being a "bureaucrat," or (worst epithet in the Gorman glossary) a "psychoanalyst." If all that Mr. Gorman says is true about Meratran, Frenquel, chlorpromazine, and reserpine, then there should soon be a noticeable shrinking of the mental hospital population. If there isn't, Mr. Gorman will probably blame the bureaucrats. It could be, of course, that Mr. Gorman is right. Maybe these drugs will do for psychiatry what antibiotics have don for surgery. I'm not sure. It must b wonderful to be as certain as Mr. Gor man is about these things.

"This book," says the author,

> . . . has been written to bring to th American people the facts about th parlous state of psychiatric researc and training in a country fat wit prosperity, two-toned automobiles an refrigerators which open from eithe side.

While all that Mr. Gorman says ma not be considered "fact," he does superb job in pricking the America conscience. A country that spends s much on research into the habits of Hes sian flies and so little for psychiatric re search, ought to be stung into a shame ful re-appraisal.

From FRANCIS HACKETT

Swans and Sparrows

IT isn't every morning that you wake up to find a pair of swans at the foot of the garden. For myself, I don't want to look at them. Swans! Who invited them? I am busy. They are too big. Our little lake looks like a bathtub with a seal in it. They are out of proportion. They are for poets.

It was all right for Yeats. Lady Gregory provided him with Coole, and he appropriated the wild swans of Coole. It was all right for Gogarty. He could "offer" them to the Liffey, and then bring in Leda. The relations of Gogarty and Leda could only be amusing. But Sibelius? Tuonela? They might be from Finland? Ah, that makes it different. I shall do it reluctantly, but since they are here, one might as well look.

Our little spill of water is not too suburban. We have a brace of wild ducks on it, a couple of coots who breed in the rushes, and water-hens who come up for the strawberries. We did have mandarin ducks. And we have some retired seagulls who circumnavigate endlessly, Dizzy, Busy and Tizzy, while in the courting season half a dozen sea-going gulls come up for a giddy afternoon, the boys from the ships. But swans are unheard of, undreamt of. They are not in our world.

And yet, without signal or annuncia tion, descending as they should fro heaven and from choice, they have com on this visit. We watch them throug bare branches, realizing that these state ly beings are too proud for us. We ar afraid to guess what is passing throug their minds.

They move without haste, a tru married couple in the old style, the mal a little larger than the female and mov ing a little ahead. They are thinking o the future, on a tour of inspection. The pass out of sight and are lost to view i a cove. Then they have chosen! It is painful moment. No, they reappear rap idly, it was impossible for them. "Th dog!" Then, through the stretch o black water on the far side, under th slope of the wood, they progress with dignity no other biped can emulate, o all living creatures the most hierarchic whiter than Carrara, more supple tha any sculpture in layers almost translu cent, with a poise and a flow of lin more arched than any robe of corona tion, their throats sustaining the high head with eyes in it the most secretiv and vigilant.

Who is to have these visitors? Th local joke says that everything should b seemly "in case the King should drop

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," but what would be seemly "in case wo large swans should drop in"? We annot increase a pond at will, or hurry belated spring, or provide a bridal ouple with a suite in the flowerbeds. And still they are returning to the port ve made for the ducks, a slope into the vater that I sodded myself. Yes, they ıave condescended. They are facing us. They are coming out of the water. They ook around. They squat.

Because of a hard winter, we have liscovered that all birds respond to love, n the form to which they became ac-ustomed in the nest. Poets are not ıonomists. They are not equalitarians. hey are snobs. Not since Catullus rote about a sparrow has any poet, so ar as my limited knowledge goes, said word about the sparrow, except the ntast who asked, "Who Killed Cock bin?" But the law that made us feed e sparrows all winter, and the black-ds and the various tits and the wood-ckers and the solitary, discreet and eticulous robin, if it were a robin, now pplies to our hierarchs. Since aquatic ant life is not available, they too ask r bread. They have to eat. How little tice have poets paid to this humble pect of these procreative enthusiasts! ightingales have stirred them, even nder the difficult name of the bulbul. rks have enthralled them. They have rkened to melodious madrigals, to norous thrushes, to the shy sister wallow, to the cluck of the cuckoo and e coo of the dove. But the penury of e dun sparrow, that gutter-snipe, has t moved the best of democrats, though e raven could attract a schizophrenic elodist. And "modern" poets, shutting f the entire aviary in anti-romantical-, have not recognized that birds, like emselves, are children of nature, and, times are hard, of patrons. How else n poor birds sing?

THE swans, once they establish themselves, make us realize that beauty assumes its due. Certainly they are heavy feeders. When I go to them with bread hey bolt it so fast that it bungs out their eautiful throats, one lump packed in so uickly on top of the other that they ave to wash the bulge down with vater. When I am slow in feeding the nale, he sucks in air and dribbles, not hat he is keeping up his strength for the ake of posterity, but for his own sweet ake, which leads him in the end to leave the water and come up to the house. "Where is the kitchen?" The sparrows know. They could have told him when we gave handouts. But as their strength is in unionism, and the swan's in self-possession, they can hardly get together.

LIKE ALL star performers, in fact, the swans soon dominate the lot of us, birds included. They are not vicious. They are simply beautiful, self-assured and therefore portentous. The ducks, who had priority on the slope, try to retain it, but prudently move over to seats on the far aisle. The blackbirds worm around at a respectful distance. The magpies keep aloft. As with all professional beauties, the swans spend hours in preening, after prolonged bathing and tumbling, and it is here that the sparrows, wishing to line their wives' nests with swan's down, show a want of respect. They not only whip away every stray feather but one of them, greatly daring, swoops so dextrously that he wrenches a good fluffy feather from the swan's back. The indignation of that male, the evil eye with which he hoped to transfix the sparrow, is wasted entirely. By that time the sparrow was feathering the nest.

But sparrows are weak and aware of it. I saw one of them transfixed by a snake. Deprived of mass action, his will was paralyzed and had I not clapped my hands, which startled him into sudden flight, he would have been devoured. Only with much coy sidling, can a single one bring himself to strike up an acquaintance on his own, and to exhibit what is marked individuality, whereas the swan knows no handicap as a social being. He is proud to take his sex seriously. He is endowed to impose his will. He does not have to mass for attack, as do blackbirds who chase away a rook or riddle a cat, or king birds who drive off a hawk. No warning signal tells a swan that a dog approaches. He swims straight for the spot, trying to lure the dog close enough to have a go at him, and hissing with fury. One amiable collie, behaving like a well-bred curate, advanced to our swan as if he were greeting a new parishioner, meeting him with a smile. It ruined the swan's foreign policy. They travel the waterline together, the collie sweet and friendly, the swan aching for preventive war. At last a dachshund, the collie's attendant, which had receded in great haste, wags along at the far side of his master, full of courage. The swan gives it up. And his female, seeing someone with bread, cuts through the water like a speedboat, disgracefully eager. I suppose she means to put it all into her eggs.

The swan is conscious of power, and when he leaves the element where he is most at home, borne up by his black flappers as the hull of a boat might be held up on stalks, the marine build of his body is still immensely impressive. And when the couple lay on the grass, indolently pulling withered reeds and dried fronds toward them that are circled around the female for a nest, the dexterity of the neck is almost reptilian. This untidy operation and a disregard for conventions about toilet facilities make the prospect of their raising a family in the middle distance rather disturbing. Still, I kept watch. I did not like them to leave. At five every morning I made sure they were with us. How white they were, lying within reach of one another, in the stealth of the dawn!

But they would break house rules. They trampled across flowers. Relations were strained. One evening the male waddled up to us, she waiting behind. What did he want? He looked right and left. He did not cross the flowerbed at the edge of the terrace. He walked its length, paused, and turned away. It was a cold night. The next morning, not a sign of them, only the half-finished circles of rushes. A neighbor said that during the night a game of wild swans had whirred over, apparently heading for South Sweden. Our visitors might have heard them, slid into the water and plashed until they were buoyed up for the full spread of their great wings.

That was ten days ago. And just as I write these words Signe opens the door. "They are back!"

Who invited them back? I am busy! They are too big! But no, they are big as they should be. They are building their nest in the far corner. They understand how to be big.

Next Week

There Really Was a Canary In the Cage

by Malcolm Muggeridge

The editor of Punch *discusses the autobiography of Claud Cockburn.*

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A Psychiatrist Comments

The Present Un-Indicative

ONE of the most obnoxious things about psychiatrists is that they are apt to remind us that when one says "I" he has only a faint acquaintance with what he is talking about. The many complicated rationalizations and high-class defenses erected against the realization that "I" is but a small part of the total "me" gives evidence that it is a frightening concept for most of us.

When Freud brought forth his views about the unconscious he was not exactly cheered. His observations on sexuality have been held up as the major reason for the violent antagonism to his ideas, but it is possible that sex was selected as the particular *bête noire* since moral issues could thereby be rung in. If Freud had said simply that people exist with a great deal of their motivation and ideation outside of awareness, it would have been difficult to object.

It is difficult to estimate how much Western Man has handicapped himself by his dogged clinging to the notion that he is master of his fate and captain of his soul. Recent concern about basic research in science and the problem of stimulating creative ideas has again demonstrated that it is not enough to "will" something: the spirit has to move, as well. Eastern religions have known this for hundreds of years. A book on Zen archery states that when you no longer shoot the arrow but find that the arrow shoots itself you are becoming an archer. For example, when a student of Zen Buddhism wishes to become a swordsman he is put to work as a flunky in the house of the master. Whenever he isn't looking the master steps behind him and whacks him with a stick. The pupil becomes more and more alert and on guard against these blows, but the master is always just a little more clever, a trifle quicker. Finally, after many months the pupil realizes it is impossible to anticipate the blows and he relaxes. Contrary to what one might expect, this relaxation is not defeat but is acceptance that "it is bigger than I am" and leads to a special state of awareness that produces a superior swordsman. Coaches and trainers are aware that athletes can over-train or that the important game was lost because the team "pointed" too hard toward it.

Those who emphasize will power, "I am" philosophy, and uplifting of the boot straps seem to equate the acceptance of the unconscious with some kind of moral dissolution. *New Yorker* cartoons have pointed up this possibility with jokes of the "I didn't do it, my unconscious did" variety. The acceptance of the buried savage in children seems tacitly to go along with the philosophy that you never beat the little dears. Obviously any discovery can be exploited—witness vitamins and hormones appearing in cosmetics. Appreciation of the amount of "me" that is not known to the ubiquitous "I" does not imply a lack of social conscience or a handy alibi for bad days. Instead it offers opportunity for personal growth.

I HAVE participated recently in some exercises designed by a drama teacher to improve dramatic ability through greater self-realization. Among other things, he has students imagine a ravine between themselves and the person opposite. One must cross this ravine and reach the other individual through speaking *to him* (in contradistinction to speaking *at him*) and one may use only the repetition of a single number instead of words. Anyone who would like to discover some aspects of himself that had previously been cloaked in the magic of words will find this an intriguing experience.

There are other facets of this matter of the "I." For example, if "I" am an upright, worthy, moral, benevolent soul, then the more human aspects of "me" must be dealt with by a kind of unconscious hypocrisy. It is also likely that "I" must spend a fair portion of my days being righteously indignant about other people who manifest tendencies I secretly despise in myself. It is rather sad that many bright and dedicated men in politics have to deny any interest in personal gain or self-aggrandizement and lay the motivation for their frenetic days somewhere near the feet of t Statue of Liberty. I wonder if our tol ant contempt for politics and politicia expressed in such phrases as "tha politics for you" isn't largely based our awareness of the fundamental hyp crisy in "just for my country." There a tremendous prestige, personal glo and exercise of power in being Preside of the United States. Because a man aware of feelings of personal gain m he forego the Presidency? I would rath put my trust in someone who is awa of plain wanting to be President th someone who "reluctantly" allows hi self to be sacrificed on the altar of countrys needs.

Psychiatric research has uncovered e dence that some of the most crippli emotional disturbances in children related to their parents' need to den themselves what they abhor in the ch The old adage about "this hurts more than it does you" is apt to g laugh from the modern child, but much deeper psychological level child is completely unable to deal w unconscious hypocrisy in the par This is largely because the parent se a mixed message—at one and the s time he may show disapproval for s behavior in the child and unconsciou encourage it. Consider the plight of child who is greeted with a statem like: "Don't be so obedient." If obeys the statement then he is b disobedient and if he does not obey statement he is being disobedient.

Someday, I suspect, the topic of unknown self will be taught with little raising of the eyebrow as if it w Math or English. Harry Stack Sulli used to say that the goal of psy therapy was to make the patient known to himself pretty much the s person as he was known to oth Educators might find a lot of heuri value in exploiting Sullivan's stateme

DON D. JACKSON, M.

Notes on Contributors

J. F. GOLAY is former head of the Secretariat in Germany. HENRY DAVIDSON is Assistant Superintendent the Essex County Overbrook Hospi in New Jersey. FRANCIS HACKETT is Denmark completing a new novel. D D. JACKSON is a psychoanalyst on staff of the Palo Alto Medical Clinic.

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Correspondence

(*Continued from page 3*)

other Democrats and came principally from the gas producing states, while the Republicans voted 2-1 for the bill and were by and large hitting at their own consumers.

Admitting that we are pretty bad, I still don't think we are quite as bad as Herblock thinks. Democratic inventiveness is responsible for most of the good things that are now in process in Congress. A whole slew of Democrats introduced farm conservation acreage bills last year, and persisted in them despite the Administration's offhand dismissal of them at first. Our foreign policy is still living in the past, but the only signs of light in the last years have come from the prodding of the Administration by Sen. Walter George and other Democrats. It was the Democrats who insisted from the beginning that the highway program ought to be paid for by the people who use highways, a position which Mr. Eisenhower finally grudgingly accepted. It was the Democrats who pushed the bill liberalizing Social Security for the disabled and for women through the House last year, and are today fighting for it in the Senate against Republican opposition. It is the Democrats who have reported out of the House Labor and Education Committee the Kelley aid-to-education bill, in substitution for the Administration's meaningless confection. Incidentally, the biggest current roadblock to the Kelley Bill is not the Powell Amendment, but the cynical plan of the Republican House leadership to give the Powell Amendment their fingers-crossed support, hoping thus to torpedo the whole bill.

As for Herblock's point that Democratic attacks on Ike have been love-pats, I would make three comments. First, I am sure that Herblock would not have us make the same far-fetched attacks on the President that Republicans are currently making on Mr. Truman, such as the suggestion in "The Truman Scandals" that Mr. Harry was personally responsible for every RFC clerk who ever accepted a small ham from a Republican five percenter. The Talbotts and Mansures of the Eisenhower Administration have dealt with box car figures, not with small hams, but it does not follow that Mr. Eisenhower is not money-honest.

Secondly, in the nature of things, any real comparison of Ike and the Democratic candidate must wait until August, when we know who the Democratic candidate will be.

Third—and speaking purely for myself—if Herblock thinks Republican President Eisenhower is bad, he should come out to Wisconsin and take a look at what kind of Republicans we run into out there. The bracing atmosphere of Wisconsin is even now filled with Republican charges that everything Ike says he stands for is socialist radicalism at home and craven appeasement abroad. If you stack Ike up against the Wisconsin Republicans, you just can't help but like Ike.

REP. HENRY S. REUSS

Washington, D. C.

► *War on Israel*

SIRS:

Concerning the Arab—"Israeli" problem commented on in the April 30th *New Republic*. There is inscribed above the "Israeli" parliament's entrance a phrase which means "Israel, from the Nile to the Euphrates." This shows their spirit of neighborhood as did their ousting of one million Palestine Arabs from their homeland in 1948.

The greatest absurdity committed by the West was in trying to balance the military strength of 40 million Arabs to that of 1.5 million "Israelis." What right does the US have to interfere in an Arab liberation war on "Israel"? . . . The only reason the US will back up "Israel," if a war breaks out, is to get complete control of the area and its oil fields. But as in Korea, it won't be easy. Americans are our friends, and Communism we do not like, but the first American bullet fired on an Arab would unite millions of Moslems in the common cause of defending the lands of the Koran and the faithful; from the Atlantic to China.

WILLIAM B. MARRASH

American University of Beirut, Lebanon

The story of the inscription over the entrance to the Israeli parliament has been widely circulated, but is untrue, as the photograph of single entrance to the *Knesseth* produced here demonstrates. The ensigna over the door is the traditional candelabra; and the temporary sign reads: "No entrance *Knesseth.* House in Session."

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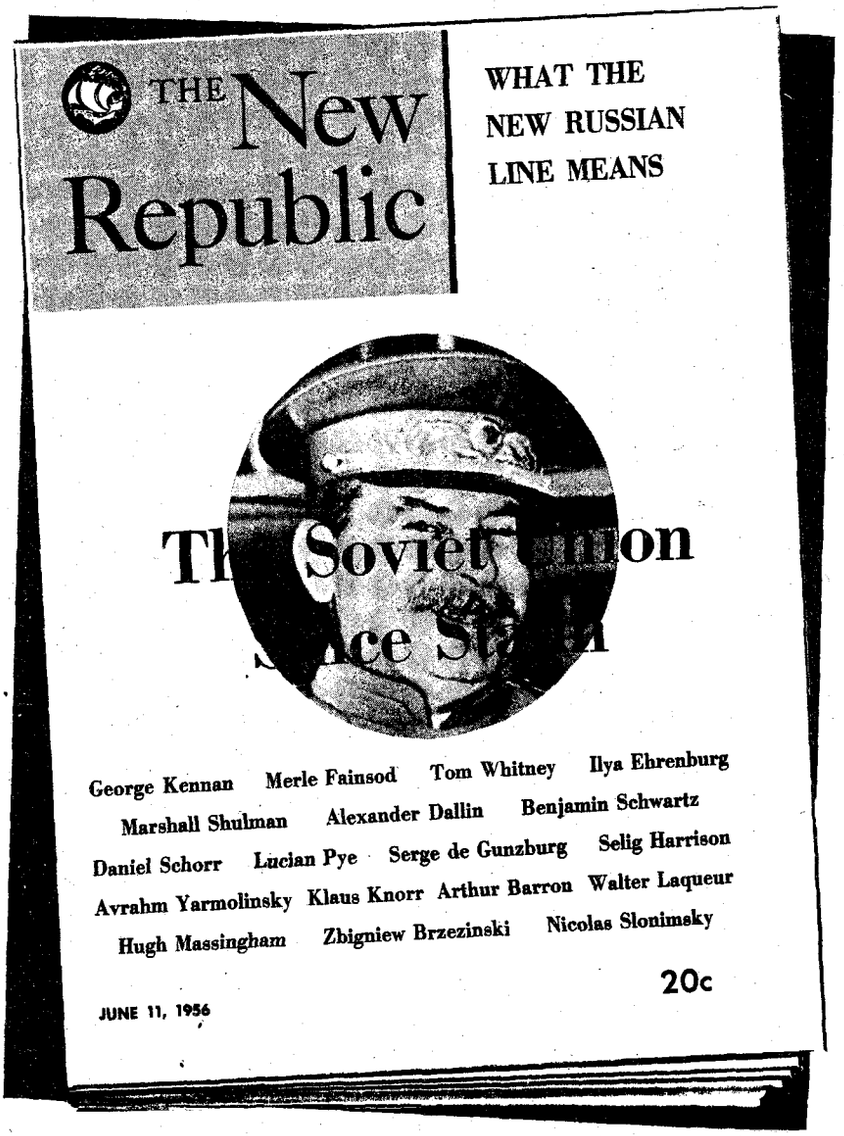
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